

## Message Text

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11

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-04 SCS-03 AID-20 CCO-00 FBO-01 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NIC-01 NSC-10 SPC-03 OC-06 OPR-02

PA-04 USSS-00 RSC-01 PRS-01 SCA-01 A-01 OMB-01 SS-20

SY-10 NEA-10 OS-03 EB-11 DODE-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00

DRC-01 /152 W

----- 128913

R 170802Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 367

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMECONSUL MEDAN

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 0676

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT JA ID

SUBJ: JAKARTA RIOTS DURING TANAKA VISIT

REF: A. JAKARTA 0623 B. JAKARTA 0625

1. AT FAREWELL LUNCHEON FOR ME BY AUSTRALIAN  
AMBASSADOR JANUARY 16 FORMER VICE PRESIDENT HATTA,  
FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ROEM AND FORMER AMBASSADOR  
TO US SEODJATMOKO PROVIDED THEIR ANALYSIS OF EVENTS  
OF LAST FEW DAYS AND MEANING FOR FUTURE. ALTHOUGH  
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SOEDJATMOKO WAS PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN AND HATTA SAID

LITTLE OR NOTHING, ALL THREE OF THESE "ELDER"  
STATESMAN SEEMED TO AGREE ON WHAT HAPPENED, ITS  
UNDERLYING CAUSES, AND ON WHAT IT MEANS. THEY  
WERE PUZZLED, AS ARE WE, BY FAILURE OF SECURITY  
FORCES TO REACT EFFECTIVELY INITIALLY AND DURING  
WORST OF RIOTING.

2. WHAT HAPPENED. STUDENTS HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED  
BY WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY EXPRESSED AMONG ELEMENTS  
OF THE ARMED FORCES AND BY HESITANCE OF ARMED  
FORCES TO TAKE ACTIONS THAT MATCHED THEIR TOUGH  
WORDS. YOUNGER HIGH SCHOOL AND ELEMENTARY STUDENTS  
WERE ENCOURAGED BY VARIETY OF SOURCES TO JOIN THE  
RANKS OF THE PROTESTORS. ONCE THE STUDENTS GOT  
GOING WITH BURNING OF CARS AND SOME LOOTING, OTHER  
ELEME ADP000  
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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-04 AID-20 CCO-00 FBO-01 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NIC-01 NSC-10 SPC-03 OC-06 OPR-02 PA-04

USSS-00 RSC-01 PRS-01 SCA-01 A-01 OMB-01 SS-20 SY-10

NEA-10 OS-03 EB-11 DODE-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 DRC-01

/149 W

----- 129242

R 170802Z JAN 74  
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 368  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
AMECONSUL MEDAN  
AMCOIYUL SURABAYA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 0676

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

6. WHAT IT MEANS. IT WAS SOEDJATMOKO'S OPINION, APPARENTLY  
AGREED TO BY OTHERS, THAT THIS IS BUT BEGINNING AND THAT  
PROTEST ACTIONS WILL OCCUR AFTER TANAKA'S DEPARTURE  
UNLESS AND UNTIL PRESIDENT SUHARTO DOES SOMETHING

TO PUT NEW FACE ON THE GOVERNMENT. SOEDJATMOKO CALLED IT "INDONESIA'S WATERGATE." HE SAID THAT IF SUHARTO REACTS BY EVOKING "SUPER SEMAR"(DICTATORIAL POWERS) AND TRIES TO PUT DOWN PROTEST MOVEMENT WITH FORCE, IT WILL BE DISASTEROUS. SOEDJATMOKO BELIVES PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO MAKE CLEAN SWEEP OF HIS GOVERNMENT, BRING IN NEW FACES, DISMISS ASPRI (PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORS),  
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AND CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT THERE IS REAL CHANGE TAKING PLACE IN GOVERNMENT. IT WAS GENERALLY AGREED SUHARTO GOVERNMENT HAS ACCOMPLISHED GREAT DEAL IN ITS FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND THAT THE PROVISION OF RICE, KEROSENE, CLOTH AND OTHER BASIC SUBSISTENCE ITEMS AT SUBSIDIZED PRICES (IN THE CASE OF RICE AT LESS THAN HALF THE WORLD MARKET COST) HAS BEEN A MASSIVE SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM MADE POSSIBLE BY GOVERNMENT'S GREATLY IMPROVED FINANCIAL SITUATION IN TURN ENHANCED BY FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND IGGI AID. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT NEXT FIVE-YEAR PLAN OPENED UP EXCITING POSSIBILITIES FOR DISTRIBUTION OF INCREASED EARNINGS AND THE FRUITS OF DEVELOPMENT AS WELL AS OF PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT BY YOUTH IN INDONESIA'S PEACE CORPS. BUT SUHARTO'S DRY AND BORING PRESENTATION TO PARLIAMENT ON JANUARY 7 HAD NOT ONLY FAILED TO INSPIRE BUT SEEMED PURPOSELY CAST IN LOW KEY TO AVOID ANY EXCITEMENT ABOUT GOVERNMENT'S PLANS FOR FUTURE. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS NEW INSPIRATION; THE PAST INSPIRATION OF "NEW ORDER" AND ALTERNATIVE TO SUKARNO HAD BEEN LOST. SOEDJATMOKO SAID THAT IT WOULD BECOME CLEAR IN VERY FEW DAYS WHETHER SUHARTO WOULD REACT IN A WAY WHICH WOULD ALLOW HIM TO RECOVER THE SITUATION.

7. I ADVANCED THE THESIS THAT SUHARTO HAD MADE A GREVIOUS POLITICAL ERROR IN NOT GIVING THE ISLAMIC PARTIES (WHO REPRESENT A MAJORITY IN ANY FREE POLITICAL EXPRESSION) AND THEIR LEADERS A SENCE OF PARTICIPATION IN SUPPORT OF HIS GOVERNMENT INSTEAD OF REJECTING AND ALIENATING THEM AS HE HAS DONE. I THOUGHT IF HE HAD DONE THIS, WHAT WE HAD SEEN JANUARY 15 AND 16 WOULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED. SOEDJATMOKO AND THE OTHERS AGREED EMPHATICALLY WITH ME ON THIS POINT.

8. COMMENT: I WAS SURPRISED AT THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOEDJATMOKO REFLECTED SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS, THEIR CRITICISMS AND THEIR ACTIONS AND IT SUGGESTED THAT HE HAS HAD SOME ROLE IN STIMULATING THEM (WHICH I UNDERSTAND SINCE FROM OTHER SOURCES HAS BEEN CASE). DR ROEM'S SYMPATHY WITH AND APPROVAL OF CRITICS OF THE GOVERNMENT WAS OF COURSE, NOT SURPRISING. GENERAL  
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NASUTION WAS MENTIONED AND REPORTEDLY HE HAS BEEN CONTINUING TO MAKE SPEECHES CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SMALL UNPUBLICIZED GATHERINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY. EVIDENCE IS GROWING THAT THERE HAS BEEN MUCH OF THIS KIND OF THING AMONG FACULTY, FORMER POLITICAL LEADERS, AND FORMER YOUTH LEADERS THAN HAS BEEN GENERALLY KNOWN OR NOTICED. THE HYPOTHESIS WAS ADVANCED BY THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT, THAT GENERAL SUMITRO MAY HAVE PURPOSELY LET STUDENTS SHOW THEIR STRENGTH IN ORDER TO ENHANCE HIS OWN POSITION, WHICH HAD SLIPPED, WITH SUHARTO. SOEDJATMOKO THOUGHT THIS MACHIAVELLIAN EXPLANATION OF SUMITRO'S BEHAVIOR DURING CRISIS WAS POSSIBLE BUT UNLIKELY.  
GALBRAITH

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** YOUTH, RIOT CONTROL, PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, MARTIAL LAW, MOSLEMS, GOVERNMENT REFORM, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT VISITS, POLITICAL SITUATION, CIVIL DISORDER S, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, SPEECHES, ECONOMIC PROGRAMS, OPPOSITION PARTIES  
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